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ABSTRACT

The genre of fairytales, one structured form of storytelling, has been labeled "Marchen." German culture is orally transmitted in this generic form, and can be traced to a collection of 210 fairytales, the Grimm brothers' "Kinder-und Taus-Marchen," first published shortly after 1800. For this study, research questions were posed relating to fairytales and the German tradition, such as: (1) Have any German cultural styles in orally gathered tales emerged by tale or language choice, or dialectical/regional references? (2) What communication acts of emotional release or ties to real life situations occur? and (3) Do oral storytellers of Marchen rely on literary or oral traditions for their tale material? German American informants (n=29) were taped in an open narrative of 60 to 90 minutes each. The tapings often included the unrehearsed telling of one or more fairytales, and loosely followed an interviewing guideline. A comparative analysis using Proppian Formalism was undertaken based on transcriptions of the interviews. Results verified a communal construction of the Grimm brothers fairytales, as opposed to a single author, creative literature origin. The diverse German cultural styles in storytelling that emerged from the data before they were analyzed followed economic and social strata rather than region of origin in German. The interviews rarely communicated intense emotionality, but universal differences connect to auditor mode were evident. All informants expressed an enthusiasm for the research. Implications suggest that the Grimms' tales' orality supersedes their literary impact. (Contains 2 tables and 65 references). (TB)

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STORYTELLING AND GERMAN CULTURE

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Abstract

Storytelling as open narrative or highly structured talk can reveal cultural transmission in the family. A Russian Formalism approach (Proppian Formalism or PF) is used to analyze 11 of the Grimm brothers' fairytales, as translated by Zipes (1982, 1987). These are compared to oral versions collected and transcribed in the United States, 1994-1995. This study records a variety of German cultural styles in storytelling, communicative acts of emotional release, and oral narrative traditions reinstituted from literate sources.

Storytelling and German Culture

The scientific world of research has always sought to describe, predict, or control that which is often intuitive or puzzling. All information about being human is integrated by transpersonal storytelling, which in turn, relies upon Action Theory, Systems Theory, and structural research (Polkinghorne, 1983, 1988). Storytelling and early narrative composition utilize a non-natural event sequence to simulate the real world as the world of tales unfolds. A pretense that the world of the tales is truthful to the real world allows oral compositions to reveal the shared knowledge and understanding that composes society beyond the family (McCall, 1989).

Fairytale Study

The genre of fairytales (FT), one structured form of storytelling, has been labeled Märchen. German culture is orally transmitted in this generic form, and can be traced to a collection of 210 fairytales first published in two volumes shortly after 1800. The *Kinder- und Haus-Märchen (KHM)* or Children and House Fairytales have been studied critically, thematically and structurally for their impact and meaning. Serious public and professional interest has been maintained over the last 200 years since the first publication of the Grimm brothers' *KHM*.

The genres of storytelling, narrative, and fairytale have been defined by their adherence to truth, their function for auditors, and their length, thematic coverage, and form (Brain, 1959; Zipes, 1979; Todorov, 1981; Darnton, 1984,

Fisher, 1984, Mallet, 1984). The Grimm's themselves determined that these genres overlapped with many others as well, and that they were for all ages.

> *Die Sammulung enhalt alle Typen der Volkerzahlung: Kinderstuben, Spinnstuben - und Gaststubengeschichten, Scherg- , Lugen- , Warn- und Gruselgeschichten, Liebesmarchen und Tiererzahlungen, Schwanke und Legenden, Geschichten fur kleine und fur große Leute, aus allen Zeitstufen der Uberlieferung, aus allen deutschen Landen und in deren Mundarten.* Deneke, 1971, p. 67
>
> *AUTHOR TRANSLATION:* The collection includes all types of folk stories. Children's tales, invented tales and tavern stories, prefabrications, warnings and strange stories, love stories and animal renditions, jests and legends, stories for small and grown-up people, out of all times of the lifecourse from all German lands and in each speech pattern.

Aarne and Thompson (1928, 1961, 1964, and later Aarne & Greene, 1971) categorized the Grimm tales as *Chimera* or fairytales (*Schumaremarchen)* by the numbers 300-749 and 850-879. The first numbered grouping signifies tales of magic which are also known as "wonder tales" or *"Zaubermarchen."* This is the largest and perhaps the most memorable of all folktale genres (Ashliman, 1987, xi). These tales rarely deal with fairies, but rely on magic for the fantasy solutions to seemingly insurmountable problems. The second numbered grouping (850-879)

signifies romantic tales or *novelle*. These are compact stories with pointed plots, often with a literary heritage. Acts of great patience, wisdom, courage, or selflessness in them seldom rely on magical solutions (Ashliman). The tale type numbers begin at 1-299 (fables) and continue to 2000-2399 for formula tales.

Many research gaps remain for this necessary and popular topic of oral cultural transmission. Style (Kroeber, 1988; Swann-Jones, 1991), emotion (Kready, 1916; Sutton, 1990; Vangelisti, 1993), and orality (Zipes, 1983) are among the most prominent. An ethnographic study to collect and transcribe the Marchen storytelling of first, second, third or more generation German-Americans will reveal a variety of German cultural styles in storytelling, communicative acts of emotional release within a protected environment (such as the home and family), and oral narrative traditions that have been reinstituted from literate sources (Grimm & Grimm, 1963, 1966, 1982; Grimm, Grimm, & Gag, 1936, 1947; Rolleke, 1975; Zipes, 1982, 1987; Luthi, 1987).

Problem Question 1: Have any German cultural styles in orally gathered tales emerged by tale or language choice, or dialectical/regional references?

Problem Question 2: What communication acts of emotional release or ties to real life situations occur?

Problem Question 3: Do oral storytellers of Marchen rely on literary or oral traditions for their tale material?

Importance of the Study

One of the Grimm's harshest critics, J. M. Ellis (1983) clearly states that

> What is specifically German in the character of the *KHM* would have to reside precisely in the particular version or flavor of a given tale, and this is why the actual expression of the version told in Germany is so important, it is the specific form, more than the story outline itself, that will be of value for the study of German folklore (p. 11)

The intriguing aspect for qualitative communication is what causes these tales to penetrate the cultural vestiges of daily living as other identities are being forged. The constant retelling of narratives, and Grimm brothers' fairytales in particular, construct a pattern of everchanging cultural values (Peppard, 1971; Mahler, 1988; Bird & Dardenne, 1990; Kamenetsky, 1992). Because of this, fairytale themes and motifs have been analyzed within folklore and a multitude of other disciplines (Hicks, Rush, & Strong, 1977; Panttaja, 1988; Anderson & McMaster, 1989). Propp (1928, 1968) thought such folk narrative "ought to be studied by anthropologists and the contiguous disciplines which alone are capable of shedding light on its causes" (p. 112).

Communication takes many forms. Storytelling is one such genre defined by its structural properties and function as a culture bearer. The communication problem at issue is whether the formal structure of a folkloric expression such as the Grimm brothers' fairytales has remained the same for 200 years. If so, root

causes undergirding society may be at work to penetrate specific cultures and/or geographic areas. The communication of these causes rejuvenates, but does not form, stable identities of a cultural nature.

By examining the oral and transcribed communication specifics of one acculturating group, further delineation of the terms culture and communication can benefit the disciplines of communication, anthropology, folklore, sociology, education, and psychology. Communication research and theory may be more readily absorbed by the contiguous disciplines, avoiding redundancy and eclectic "scientific" procedures. If the transmission of culture is not a created process, but one of unyielding causes undergirding society and geographical areas, any discipline's understanding of cultural, cross-cultural, and intercultural communication must be reevaluated.

Oral Tradition

The interdisciplinary nature of a popular culture agent such as narrative, whether it be interview transcripts or performed tales, has been seen as both a reflection of, and an interaction with society (Wesselski, 1932, Inglis, 1938, Bascom, 1965, Dundes, 1965). Early reception of the Grimms' tales particularly betrayed an English romantic fascination with German folklore, thus making them the "most widely disseminated and translated work of German literature" (Blamires, 1989, p. 63). Oral traditions in English-, Danish-, and Dutch-speaking

countries were the first to use the printed tales as a springboard for their own framing of the German identity. Mutual influence of these two traditions is very complicated and demands more structural study of the languages and cultures of the tales' first proponents beyond Germany (Thompson, 1977, p. 442).

Scholarship surrounding the subject of oral tradition points to its universal and powerful rhetoric. Folklore's social function, and the Grimm brothers' style in particular, can stimulate national consciousness. At the very least, this form of oral communication is a reflection of culture and can be productively studied by structural comparison. The two areas of generational communication and identity negotiation cannot be overlooked in the mutual influence of an acculturating society such as the United States between the 19th and 21st centuries.

Cultural Communication

Communication is seen as a shaper of cultural identity. There is, therefore, a need to view communication in a central role in the production of culture, to move past purely cognitive identity models and theories. Folkloric expression stabilizes culture yet allows an outlet for the repressions of society. Performance studies marking folklore's rigid forms and themes may highlight a specific culture's style of communication. The admonition is to move past stereotypical portrayals to achieve cross-cultural, open interviews which provide ethnographical data for analysis.

German Identity

Scholarship delineates German identity as limited by a variety of characteristics such as autonomy, moral order and social crisis. Constant face repair, rehearsal, and rehash are censored by tradition and a dominant cultural progression to soften German identity in the United States. Fisher's Narrative Paradigm (1985, 1987) explains that identity can be communicated through story without the use of a native tongue. Narrative identity can be without content also. Since the major immigration waves of 1848 and 1890 are generations past, German-American identity has become diffuse and removed from its nativity.

Problem Rationale in Relation to Communication Study

Many problems are yet unresolved by existing research and theory within the general subject areas of oral tradition, cultural communication, and German identity. There is a problem of erecting a bridge between the paradigms of studying an individual culture from within its own values, norms, and rules; and studying many cultures with universal norms and principles in mind (Jones, 1979). This is complicated by problems of gathering folkloric expression from a population of reticent, assimilated German-Americans in an age of mediated communication. The problem of whether root causes undergird society to produce folkloric expression for certain cultures and/or geographic areas is difficult to isolate in experimental research. The terms culture and communication may not be

defensible without definitional overlap, and their understanding may require reevaluation by many disciplines. This unleashes the constant problem communication theory and research have in becoming more readily absorbed by the disciplines of anthropology, sociology, psychology, linguistics, education, and folklore.

A rationale that justifies the cultural study of German fairytales in the 20th century is dervived from the overview of scholarship surrounding oral tradition, cultural communication, and German identity. This study can be justified as a culture-specific, qualitative, ethnomethodological one that seeks to uncover structural similarities of one oral form of folklore over time. The theoretical context for the problem questions and their rationale lies firmly within foundational communication study. In addition to Fisher's (1984, 1985) narrative paradigm and Ong's (1982) orality and literacy concepts, attention to the power of place and space in cultural communication is increasing. "Space and place have a power of their own," Lawrence Grossberg, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, comments on his work during the International Communication Conference (May 25, 1995). He further states that in communication, theorists need to talk about the "real" and to engage in the reality outside human construction. Cultural identity is not the place to start, but a definition to end with. "Agency and ending with identity are the problem in communication study."

Alba (1980) asserts that Euro-cultural values, norms, and rules can still be found in American families, in spite of the American striving to be an accultural society. Fred L. Casmir (respondent commentary, ICA convention, May 28, 1995) declares that no singularly American accent exists, that the United States is filled with citizens bearing all possible accents [and origins, and styles of communication]. The possibility of isolating a generic form of talk in a particular cultural style exists because cultural identity is personal and it is an everyday catylist by which a national cultural ideology is reinforced. The German majority in the United States is a culture that may fit well with the space and place alloted to its expression. Certain cultures do promote different styles of communication, and other cultures may adopt these styles in a mix of acculturation, communication, and cross-cultural assimilation until the original cultural style becomes indistinguishable.

Method

The technique of cross-cultural interviewing, and a working knowledge of the German language can aid in the ethnographic data collection of German-American narrative. In order to best isolate pure forms of cultural expression for study, Grimm fairytales will be collected with the aid of open-ended interview guidelines in the participant's home. Fisher's premise that story functions in all communication will allow identifyable structure and function to emerge in the

Grimm narratives. Laboratory or questionnaire methods of collection would seriously hinder true cultural expression, therefore participant choice of any narrative or story will be collected.

Procedure

Informants' individual beliefs and practices were singled-out with the tales in order to reveal an intuitive grasp of German-American cultural values, rules, and norms (Clarke & Clarke, 1963; Schatzman & Strauss, 1973; Polkinghorne, 1983). When this knowledge is transcribed and substantiated by analytical techniques such as PF, a negiotiation of meaning, emotional content, and a consensus of aesthetic taste are verified (Pollak, 1943; Mueller, 1945; Hicks, Rush & Strong, 1977; Anderson & McMaster, 1989; Linden, 1990).

Storytellers were taped in an open narrative of 60 to 90 minutes each. The tapings often include the unrehearsed telling of one or more fairytales, and loosely follow an interviewing guideline. A letter of printed instructions and participant rights were discussed prior to the scheduled interviews so that oral involvement of the interviewer could be minimal during the taping. Four females (ages 30-70) and one male (age 40) used German as well as English during narrative and/or storytelling segments of the interview.

Interview Guidelines

The participants were instructed as follows:

> Explain how you first heard your stories, who told them to you, under what conditions, and for what purpose. Why do they stick in your memory? How do they connect to a Germanic background? What prompts them out of your memory? Have they lain dormant all these years? What are your feelings concerning your German-speaking heritage? Were these stories read or simply retold to you?
>
> Tell me about the people who told them. If you have any family members who are interested, have them listen and contribute to a group storytelling session. Note family members, distance in generations from a German birthplace, language knowledge, and other nationalities represented in your family tree. Is storytelling a common occurrence? Who tells the most stories? What type? At what particular times? Name as many Grimm brothers' fairytales as you can.
>
> Have you read or seen any in books, on television, or in movie theaters? Describe the setting and conditions. Do you think fairytales are only for children? for entertainment? Mention any thoughts or ideas you have about being an American and the art of storytelling.
>
> State whether you wish to remain anonymous or be credited.

After 10-15 interviews were conducted, a line by line transcription and comparative analysis utilizing Proppian Formalism (1928, 1968) was undertaken. Deviation and matching of indexed versions was noted and partially explained by titles recorded in the open narrative segment of the interviews. The goal of this research is to expand the data base of oral transcriptions within the genre of fairytales. A highly individualistic designation of the Proppian shorthand has been employed, as befits Russian Formalism aims.

Participants

The most productive method of gaining participant compliance was the purposive, network (snowball) technique from referrals of secured interviewees and contacts from a national storytelling organization, librarians, and teachers of German. Additional information and version collaboration from relatives (grandmothers and grandchildren) were solicited.

Of the 29 informants contacted, 10 were male. Six family units were represented with two to five members each. Eight individuals produced self-recorded data, and the remaining interviewees participated in dyadic form with the researcher. All age ranges were represented by the principal storytellers. An eight year old son, several mothers in their early thirties, older adults of both genders, and one participant over seventy years old (average age = 38 years). The education levels were varied as well, ranging from third grade to Ph.D. completion. Many professions, income levels, ideologies, and interest backgrounds were evident, and one professional storyteller was taped with the sample of participants.

Analyzing the Data: Russian Formalism via Propp (PF)

The data appear as line numbered transcriptions of individual or group recordings. Each transcription contains a paragraphed rendition of any Grimm brothers' fairytales of the participant's choosing. Comparison of structural

elements could then be undertaken by noting omissions and repetitions of the 31 functions within the fairytale genre

The action of a protagonist (LEAVING HOME, PROVISION, REACTION TO DONOR) is constant as well as the function of obstacles (VILLAINY, PURSUIT, LACK) placed in his/her/its path Propp (1968, 1984) theorized that all fairy tales are structurally homogeneous Recurrent patterns in cultural narrative provide a key to determining structure and genre definition, but the morphology would become sterile if not bound to ethnological data (Propp, 1984, Miranda & Miranda, 1971, Riemann & Schutze, 1987) In fact, a storyteller [or informant] who violates a story by redefining its structure has broken the rules for negotiation (Livo & Rietz, 1986, Schutze, 1992) This produces fragmented data and misunderstanding among theorists, informants, and researchers

The 31 functions of PF recast imperfect, field-gathered narrative into a predictable structure of the fairytale genre Each tale or narrative segment contains a sequential pattern of occurrences, regardless of who or what has perpetrated the action These functions are definitively ordered and mutually exclusive (Propp, 1968)

FUNCTION I	Character leaves home
FUNCTION V	Delivery
FUNCTION XIV	Provision
FUNCTION XVI	Struggle
FUNCTION XXV	Difficult task proposed for hero

FUNCTION XXX Villain is punished
FUNCTION XXXI Hero marries and ascends throne

Each tale is systematically labeled at the function point, and these symbols are checked in progressive order from 1 to 31. When a function number is noted that regresses to a lower number, a new plot line is begun. This produces a comparative chart of the tightness and coherence of the story structure. Omissions and repetitions can be easily seen on each chart.

Results

These procedures of cross-cultural interviewing produced storytelling data with the following characteristics:

1. Fifteen 60-minute audiotapes containing autobiographical material and storytelling episodes. English is the major language employed, but German is also used.
2. Fifteen fairytale transcriptions in paragraph form with clearly attributed storytelling and audience vocalizations.
3. Videotaped sequences of storytelling (2).
4. Nonverbal fieldnotes for a five-member family group.
5. Proppian (1928, 1968) shorthand marking each of the 31 functions.
6. Twenty-seven function charts with clearly indicated repetitions and omissions in chronological order.

German cultural style and emotionality demographics, function omissions, Aarne & Thompson story plot and motif deviances, and function repetitions were recorded.

German Cultural Style and Emotionality Demographics

The original tales were gathered by the Grimms from Marburg, Kassel, all along the Rhine River valley, Hanau, Steinau, and Gottingen. Some settings are revealed within the tales themselves, but neither geographic origins nor known settings matched any of the 20th century tellers' own roots for the 11 rhetor-chosen fairytales. Many rhetors spoke of knowing other tales, especially ones with geographic or setting congruency with their home areas in Germany, but these were not chosen for the interview because of vaguely remembered details or because they were not favorites from childhood.

The demographic facet of where exposure to the fairytales came from (medium origin) revealed that nine tales originated from oral tradition within the family (O), and two tales originated from mixed media of more than two forms (M), one of which was oral transmission. Reading the tales or being read to (L) was a point of origin for five tales, and a frequent source in the mixed designation. Theatrical presentations of the chosen fairytales were minimal. Only three tales had been viewed as live performances on a stage. The second, German-speaking teller of LITTLE RED RIDING HOOD had only had exposure to the tale in theatrical form. This was a childhood puppet theatre that was owned and staged

by her family. Only one rendition, THE MAGIC TABLE, had its primary origin in a film version (F). Two fairytales had been seen as Disney films (D), and several of the mixed media sources included either German-language or Disney film sources.

Insert Table 1 about here

Nine adult rhetors (A) and 6 child rhetors (C) under the age of 18 were recorded. Several tales were told with assistance from auditors, especially when the teller was young. Management by a parent often occured in these instances. The economic and social strata of the participants varied little, as indicated by an even mixture of blue (B) or white (W) collar descriptors.

Rhetor language was predominantly in English. Only one tale was told entirely in German (Tale #8, THE MAGIC TABLE), but four tales were interspersed with German (G) titles, couplets, or name pronounciation. Five tales were told by rhetors of German birth and American citizenship, and six tales were told by rhetors five generations from German birth. One rhetor was over eight generations from German birth, one rhetor was two, and one rhetor was four generations from German birth. Two informants outside the participant pool (Gerhard Riemann, a Kassel native interviewed during a narrative workshop in October, 1994, and a Kassel-born American television technician interviewed in

July, 1992) stated that the Kassel area no longer harbored any storytellers of original material. All tales told in 20th century Germany were thought to be greatly influenced by mass media and the literary arts.

Only four tellings, tales #2 (RUMPLE), #3 - both versions of RED, and #10 (HANSEL & GRETEL), were recorded with a mix of emotional display (E). These were from the family interviews with children, especially when the children were the rhetors. Humor (H) was the predominant emotional outlet for three tales: RAPUNZEL, THE SEVEN RAVENS, and THE 12 DANCING PRINCESSES. Enthusiasm (X) for telling and hearing the tales again was high for all participants. Small group (2-5) audience members were available for 10 tellings, and video-taping was possible for seven tales. Only four tales were told without an audience (they were self-recorded by adult rhetors), and one tale was told to a single audience member (myself). The self-recorded tellers were cautioned to avoid using notes and visual aids, rehearsing, or researching the tales they chose for telling.

Tale #9 (MOTHER HOLLE) was the only tale recorded without rhyming couplets of interior dialogue by the tale heroes, villains, or donors. Those couplets remembered did vary in detail with individual rhetors. They were often a catalyst for German language usage within an English language rendition, and were remembered by audience members more clearly than structural markers.

PF Function Omissions

The 11 orally transmitted fairytales reveal more function omissions (276) than their counterparts recorded by Zipes (212), an average of 18.4 oral omissions and 14.1 Zipes omissions per fairytale. No major deviances of story plot or motif were noted for the orally transcribed tales of this study, but many deviances exist in the tales typed by Aarne & Thompson in all their variants in the geographical boundaries of Europe, the Near East, and the countries settled by those peoples.

PF Function Repetitions

Function repetitions are also valuable in formalistic comparison between oral and printed versions. Functions numbered 14 (55 times), 13 (42 times), and 6 (34 times) were repeated most often.

Insert Table 2 about here

Of particular note are the Zipes version repetitions per fairytale (FT) for function #14 (F) PROVISION. There were over three times as many repetitions per FT in Zipes as compared to oral versions. Zipes versions consistently had more repetitions per FT than oral transcripted versions. Functions never repeated for either oral or Zipes versions of any of the 11 fairytales were numbers 1 - ABSENTS, 21 - PURSUIT, 22 - RESCUE, 24 - CLAIMS, 28 - EXPOSURE, 29

- TRANSFIGURATION, and 31 - MARRIAGE & THRONE. A total of 47 oral version repetitions (3.1 functions per FT), and 74 Zipes version repetitions (6.2 per FT) occurred. The repetition range was identical for both oral and Zipes versions (0-13 times). The results of the oral transcriptions can be briefly summarized.

1. Tale settings and geographic origins of tales chosen for telling did not match any of the 20th century tellers own origins in Germany.

2. Exposure to nine tales was by oral tradition within the family.
   Exposure to five tales was by a literary source.
   Exposure to three tales was by theatrical production.
   Exposure to three tales was by film (two of which were Disney films).

3. Oral transcript length varied from .5 to 10 pages per fairytale (6 of the 15 tales were .5 pages long).

4. The 15 primary rhetors included 9 adults and 6 children under the age of 18 years. Three were male, the rest were female.

5. Economic and social strata varied little for rhetors or auditors in all recorded sequences.

6. English was the predominant language of exchange. One tale was presented entirely in German, and four were interspersed with German phrases, titles, or pronounciation.
   Rhetors varied from five of German birth (American citizenship) to one who was eight generations from German-speaking heritage.

7. Oral and nonverbal emotionality was minimal, but enthusiasm for telling or hearing the tales was high for all participants.
   Four tales evidenced family interactions of mixed overt emotions, and humor was predominant in three tales.

8. Ten tales were recorded in a small group setting of two to five audience members, four tales were self-recorded without an audience, and one had the researcher as the only audience member.

Discussion

Do remembered Grimm tales told by 20th century German-Americans retain Proppian Marchen structure? The core problem question was explored in three particularities: (1) German cultural style in storytelling, (2) emotional release within the protected environments of the family and dyadic interview, and (3) oral narrative tradition that may or may not be instituted from literary sources.

The diverse German cultural styles in storytelling that emerged from the data before they were analyzed followed economic and social stratas rather than region of origin in Germany. In fact, many of the regional tales (Brementown Musicians, The Fisherman and his Wife) were remembered favorites of individuals not from those areas. Two individuals born in Bremen did not even choose that particular tale to record when asked for more tales in their memory (tales were not requested by name or plot specifically).

Non-structural (not compared by PF) details such as the couplets within many tales were remembered with varying wording and length. For example, the interchange between the wolf and Little Red Cap concerning eyes, ears, nose, and mouth, was managed in both German and English in varying grammars, wording, and organs included. None betrayed serious deviations from the Zipes or Aarne & Thompson standard, and none could be linked to dialects or cultural groups within particular German-speaking regions. The 11 orally produced tales belie a

diversified majority of origin. Areas in north, south, east, and west Germany are represented, as well as German birth to fifth generation American birth. The inadvertent participant sample of storytellers produced a social concensus of tale plot, structure, motif, and detail which matched both the literary tale type standards of Zipes and Aarne & Thompson.

The interviewees rarely communicated intense emotionality, but universal differences connected to auditor mode were evident. All informants, regardless of age, economic, or social factors, expressed an enthusiasm for the subject and the research. An adult audience encouraged accuracy and cemented rhetor insistence that the tales are for all ages (Grimm, Rolleke, & Grimm, 1984, Deneke, 1971). This study searches for pattern that precedes all social sysems (Wells, 1988, McCall, 1989) to record no singularly German-American accent or origin of cultural style, yet the matching of 20th century informants (largely literate, middle-class female storytellers) to those of the Grimms is uncanny.

PF Function Omissions

The most often omitted PF functions of RESCUE of the hero from pursuit, the hero is PURSUED, a false hero presents unfounded CLAIMS, and the villain makes an ATTEMPT at reconnaissance were omitted in at least 75% of all 11 fairytales in all versions. No function was omitted in 100% of the oral versions. This corroborates the Propp functions as essential elements of the fairytale genre

Of these most readily recalled tales, the most essential functions were VILLAINY causes harm or injury to a member of a family (A) -- one member of a family either lacks something or DESIREs to have something (a), PROVISION to the hero of a magic agent, REACTION of the hero to the future donor, and initial misfortune or lack is LIQUIDATED (narrative peak). A function may be omitted often because of particular group response to the rhetor, rhetor knowledge lack, or the tale requirements at that telling. Only major deviations of oral and Zipes versions may be seen to construe aberrant cultural/family style, rhetor competence, or tale idiosyncrasies.

Aarne & Thompson Story Plot and Motif Deviances

The most notable deviation from the Aarne and Thompson tale types occurred in a group telling of HANSEL AND GRETEL. The tale ending was modified, excluding Hansel and Gretel's return. Auditor disbelief, laughter, and attempted correction surfaced during the fabricated ending. The discussion that followed the rhetor's finish involved all five family members. The same rhetor displayed creative details in RAPUNZEL as well, but these were only exaggerations in description, not structural modifications.

PF Function Repetitions

Function repetition per fairytale was much higher for the printed Zipes, than for oral versions. Orally transmitted data would be thought to evidence more

repetitions for simplicity and aural retention, yet this was not the case for the data examined to date. The least often repeated functions were in greater numbers, perhaps due to the choice of fairytales recounted. There were seven functions never repeated, and six additional functions that were repeated a minimal amount of times (2-4). These 13 functions carry an enormous weight for the plot and motif grammar of these most popularly selected Grimm tales. Their use as necessary elements is obvious by description (ABSENTS, narrative peak, MARRIAGE & THRONE).

Another interesting finding was the pattern of functions repeated by number. Some versions evidenced fixed repetition patterns for all functions that were repeated. For example, the Zipes version of Rumplestiltskin repeated four functions, but they were consistently repeated either two or three times. The Zipes Rapunzel carried the same repetitive pattern for seven functions.

Some versions had other fixed numbers of repetition. All six functions repeated in one oral Hansel & Gretel version were repeated twice. The Zipes Fisherman and his Wife repeated 8 functions, five of which were repeated six times and one (#13) 11 times. The most common repetition pattern was 2, 3, or 4 times of repetition. The variety that deviates from the traditional three repetitions of European fairytale structure is amazing, considering that the tales examined were Grimms, and are well documented for 16 other European countries (Germany,

Austria, The Netherlands, and Switzerland would make 20)

The particular fairytales that evidenced the most repeated functions were The Magic Table (both versions), The Gallant Little Tailor (both versions), and Hansel and Gretel (only Zipes) The first two can be explained by their complexity, but the oral versions of Hansel and Gretel (2) varied considerably from the oft repeated Zipes rendition

Conclusion

These tales and narrative explanations that have been analyzed verify a communal construction of the Grimm brothers fairytales, as opposed to single author, creative literature origins There are three implications for communication science (1) Structural components within an oral and literary genre bridge were systematically examined and redefined by comparison, underscoring the bond among the disciplines of communication, cultural studies, anthropology, English, theatre, sociology, psychology, and folklore, (2) Distance in generations from German nativity (and the resultant neglect of a cultural tongue) was not found to seriously hinder the generic structure of this cultural narrative, and (3) The Grimms tales' orality supersedes their literary impact

Most informants were excited to speak without censure to an adult interested in their individual cultural expressions This injected a volunteer element for the research pool of participants, and could be seen as less than perfect

sampling. The primary storytellers were very similar to the Grimms' and of course, must weather the same criticisms their work and popular culture as a whole has done.

A qualitative participant pool cannot always match a general population of German-Americans. Many informants who contributed no stories were too busy earning a living and teaching their children to work as well. One male (45-55 years old) expressed his cultural communication as a German-American to be sure, but one of an eternal guest in the United States. Both he and his wife were reticent about the taping of their stories or those of their adult bilingual children.

Had this been a study which sought to generalize to the general population of German-Americans in the United States, the small sample size would be seen as a limitation. However, the formal structure of the tales and their record was the object of the research. Pivotal methodology such as Proppian Formalism cannot be replaced in the never-ending search for cultural similarity and difference. Such communication study reawakens and refines PF methodology for the contiguous disciplines.

This reflective, representational study uncovers German-American storytelling as a subcultural communicative act. The time seems ripe for subject matter of this nature to bridge the gap between communication and its formative disciplines.

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Table 1

German Cultural Style and Emotionality Demographics

TALE BY #	1	2	3	3	4	5	5	6	7	7	8	9	1	0	11	
Geographic Origin/Setting		K	K	K	K	K	K		K	K		K	K	K		Tale
	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Teller
Medium Origin	L	OT M	O	T	OL	O	O	L	L	D	OF	O	O	L D	OT M	
Length in pages	10	3½	½	½	2	½	½	1½	5	3 ½	2½	½	1 ½	½	2	
Rhetor	A	C	A	A	C	A	A	C	A	C	A	A	A	C	C	
Language				G			G				G	G		G		
Birth	8+	4	2	1	5	2	1	5	5	5	1	1	5	1	5	
Emotions		E	E	E	H			H					E		H	
Enthusiasm	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Audience		X		X	X		X	X		X		X	X	X	X	
Econ & Social Strata	W	B W	B	W	B W	B	W	B W	W	B W	W	B	B	B W	B W	Blue or White Collar
Video-taping		X			X			X		X	X			X	X	
Couplets	X	X			X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	

Note: "K" signifies that the tale's origin or setting is KNOWN; "-" signifies that the teller or rhetor of the tale has an unknown or different origin from the tale told.
"O" signifies ORAL; "L" signifies LITERARY; "T" signifies THEATRE; "F" signifies FILM; "D" signifies DISNEY origin mentioned for other tales; "M" signifies MIXED MEDIA origin of more than two forms.
"A" signifies ADULT; "C" signifies CHILD under 18 years of age.
"G" signifies that GERMAN language was used wholly or in part in the telling of the tale. The numbers represent generations from German birth; "1" signifying German birth.
"E" signifies that many EMOTIONS were displayed in the telling of the tale; "H" signifies that HUMOR was the predominant emotional outlet.

Table 2

Most Often Repeated PF Functions

Function	Version	Repetitions	Versions	Repeats/FT
#14 (F) PROVISION	Oral	18	15	1.20
	Zipes	37	12	3.80
		55 Total Repetitions		
#13 (E) REACTION	Oral	15	15	1.00
	Zipes	27	12	2.25
		42 Total Repetitions		
# 6 (η) TRICKERY	Oral	11	15	0.73
	Zipes	23	12	1.92
		34 Total Repetitions		